Demands for Grants.

1. 30—Scientific, etc., Departments—Rs. 1,38,212.

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—I rise to move the demand under the head Scientific, etc., Departments for Rs. 1,38,212.

Motion No. 15.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—*To reduce the allotment of Rs. 1,07,396 for Industries Department by Re. 1-*

To impress upon the Government the necessity for revoking their position regarding some of the non-official demands of this House, tending to an all-round State Industrialisation.

Mr. President, Sir, you know that we have every cause to speak with light heart this evening. I may request you, Sir, at the very outset, that I may be allowed some more time than the allowed schedule time, since this subject of State Industrialisation and Economic development, in other words a development undertaken by the capital of the State, gives in a nut shell the political philosophy I stand for, in the realisation of which, Sir, I may assure this House in all seriousness, I don't mind being hanged. I may assure the House that for whatever time I may waste of its valuable portion I will make up by desisting from moving some of my cut motions that are coming to-day and to-morrow.

One of the draw-backs of Parliamentary practices is the custom of labouring on self-evident propositions. The dramatic existence in our midst of excessive poverty side by side with excessive opulence and the vastness of our propertyless classes is the absolute proof for the necessity of a better distribution of wealth through primarily an all-round State Industrialization. There are countries that have abolished or are on the eve of abolishing poverty and there is no reason why we should treat the problem as a mere dream of visionaries. The subject, I am aware, Sir, is a fruitful arena for self-seeking capitalists who have made it a fashion to harp on practical politics in season and out of season, for professionals who live on the former's money-bags, for fawning opportunists, self-seeking Philistines, and for such other rocks and stones that have ever stood in the way of progress ; but take it from me that any amount of contempt and jeering and repression, if you will, cannot arrest the slow but steady march of the great proletarian revolution the world must undergo sooner or later. Human nature with all its limitations is too good for its failure. The seed of the inevitable is already sown and the question is one of time alone.

Unfortunately for us the statistics, available as yet in our State are insufficient and in some cases inadmissible for an academic discourse on the subject. The other side in all can-

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dour for which it is famous told us in one of the last meetings that there are only one thousand and seventy-four beggars in the State ; and really that was the biggest joke of the season ; but those who have eyes to see and ears to hear know that it can never be anywhere this side of ten thousand. The leopard cannot change its spots nor the apologist his evasions. Any way, begging is there to our shame. My motion, among other things, is intended to root out this insult to human dignity and self-respect. If it is not possible to do it by strokes of the pen (I question even that assertion) out with your favourite constructive measures—say I—that have the potentialities in them to remove the evil in the maximum time the highest stretch of your imagination can conceive.

The figures in our last census state that more than half of the population is unemployed. How immense and alarming should then be the real figures of our unemployment? Who else but the Government are to meet their right to work? Anxious sympathy for the unemployed alone won't solve the problem. Nor liberal gifts—however deserving—to millionaires and royal connections who will be the last to require them, be a remedy for it. You will have to take pains, think and think and work out a comprehensive plan. "Sleepless nights" are to be spent in such works rather than in the distribution of appointments. Nor is red-tapism in this House a remedy for it. Sir, Poverty, will have its revolts. History and contemporary events prove the statement. Then, pray, why not anticipate things instead of waiting for compelling situations. We learn things by the Trial and Error method. Why should we repeat the errors others have committed to their cost? Let us be benefitted by the knowledge that came to them after the errors.

Even among our employed ranks there is bitter discontent. Manual labourers working thirteen or fifteen hours earning wages of two and three annas is one of the heart rending scenes of our rural parts ; nor are our towns free from such appalling circumstances. The startling magnitude of our poverty and the still more startling bitterness in the struggle for life under sordid and heartless conditions will never be removed by apologists who shut their eyes to glaring misery and hardship around them or who excuse it or who try to show that things are steadily improving or who justify it on the plea that poverty is a self-inflicted wound. Society created poverty and the society must remove it. The cause of poverty is social ; individual conduct only determines whether this man or that is to be poor or how intense the individual's poverty should be. More than three-fourths of the vital energy of our people is spent in finding

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some food—and Oh!—what food—for their stomach and a shelter over their heads and yet in many cases they fail and the result of all this Herculian labour is that about one-tenth of our people is holding nine-tenths of the country's wealth. No wonder that the life of the average Cochinite, the Government had to confess on the 1st of Dhanu 1107, is only 22 to 24 as against the 45 to 48 of other countries. There is a whole world of Tragedy in the situation.

Even the widest extension of sympathies won't give those in easy conditions a correct idea of the stains and scars of the poor by the dust and wounds of life's battle. The average fat-salaried man in a lotus land of low prices is quite apt to belittle the acute misery prevalent in the land. Would some of them were retrospectively introspective; then shall burn in their breasts a righteous anger against the manifold iniquities and exploitations their fellow-beings are subject to.

The progressive pauperisation that is going on in the country is reflected in another set of statistics supplied by the Government on the 3rd of Dhanu 1107. According to it in about a decade the number of pattadars in the small village of Azhicode was reduced from 457 to 350. The Hydro-headed capitalistic concentration is working its havoc even in the remotest corners of our rural parts, not to mention the towns. The magic mirror the Government generally applies to such figures adds to the anxiety of the situation. Azhikkode is more or less typical of whole State; the variations, if any, are of ignorable dimensions.

Again (Wednesday of the last sitting) the Government after ever so many promptings have at last delivered the long expected issue which alas! turned out to be an alarming monster in the form of Appendix I to the Questions and Answers. The figures from the face of it should cause anxiety; There are only 81,149 (mark the number) pattadars in the State, while our population, says our last Census, is 12,05,016 (mark this also, please). That won't do and it does not require much logic or anarchy to say that. And of our 81,149 pattadars 8,126 pay more than Rs. 25 of assessment. In other words, on the basis of jenmam all these 8,126 hold land above 8 acres each. There must be in the Rs. 10—25 assessment group of 8,414 some 3 thousand at least with about 8 acres each. Now, 8 acres of intensely cultivated land ought to satisfy any blooming spend-thrift with indigenous habits. The climax is that we have got 74 pattadars paying more than thousand rupees of assessment. Poor men, they must be feeling very wretched with the weight of all this land. But I am out only for a rough trend of things here. And while such a large number of our landless people is rotting,

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the Government were answering my Hon'ble friend for Vadakancheri on the first day of the last meeting that there is in Cochin 7,984·62 acres of cultivable land (excluding the large tracts in backwater vicinities) which the Government are keeping to themselves in an uneconomic way like the Goldsmithian miser.

This humble self would have tried to show you another aspect of the problem if the Guardian Angels of public interests on the other side (of course, according to themselves) had reduced themselves to the low level of our own common understanding and answered my questions on the 2nd day of last sitting, regarding the average income per head and the population that can command capital in our State ; but the Omnipotent Almighty over these willed it otherwise. Really, Sir, I cannot find words, strong enough to condemn such antique statements. Vital issues that have been recognised by all civilised nations as the factors for determining the tempo of material progress of a country are to those pillars of statesmanship unjustified in public interests.

On the 15th Vrischigam 1108, the Government supplied us with still another collection of statistics, eloquent of our economic distress. We learn from it that in a small State like ours with only six lakhs and odd earners, according to the liberal calculations of our last census, 814 have been adjudicated by our courts as insolvent in the short period of a decade. Nor is 9671 coercive processes for the one short year 1107 including 160 sales of properties mentioned by the Government on the 2nd day of this sitting very happy. Will the other side explode if in the same breath I tell them that there are countries on the face of this earth of ours which exempt completely from taxation the whole group of the poorest peasant holdings, forming 35 per cent of the total ? The situation is in all conscience serious. At this rate, other things being equal, in about 800 years Cochin will be a land of paupers, perhaps presided over by some master-capitalist, 'a monarch of all he surveys'. Human ingenuity, however, has been and will be too subtle for such a consummation. But what right has a Government for whose maintenance we are being bled to death to sleep all along harping upon their prude-like timidity for encroaching upon the forbidden grounds of private interrelations. The valiant heroes of subject—nationality—exploitation fame and their slavish allies over here may, if not out of necessity, out of human compassion and gratitude for the ill-gotten salt they were tasting ever so long, make some reparation to the dumb millions of their victims. Better late than never.

I am not here attempting at a cut-and-dry programme. I leave that to the honour of the other side. We, the non-

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officials have already placed before them some of our general suggestions. A merciless tapping of all the unearned incomes and surplus values in our various existing sources with wide margins even after all conceivable luxuries, supplemented by a large-scale socialistic production and distribution is the only obvious remedy.

Waste from over-capitalisation, predatory labour and from numerous other channels of our present system should be done away with. The substitution of private capital by State capital, in other words, the State ownership of all or the main means of production, accompanied by consumption and distribution under an all-round state supervision can alone liberate the proletariat. We have to go forward, full steam forward, through industrialisation towards socialism outgrowing our petrified conservatism. Our land should metamorphose into a land of metals, of automobiles and tractors, and a land peopled by a fraternity of plenty and contentment. In the words of the greatest man the world has ever known, let us win this country from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. Let us work for all the good of all our kind and not for the vested interests of a few Monopolists. A system that is based on individual success and private gain only, that takes no account of the swelling masses of property-less classes—a system whose prime concern is the welfare of the propertied few and not of the community at large, is doomed to die. It cannot survive common sense. Any amount of capitalist bombardment cannot perpetuate this passing phase in Industrial Evolution.

If the suggestion, Sir, is too radical pray let us hear their golden middle on the problem. There is nothing ingenious in dilating over the risks and limitations of bold statesmanship; a lamp post can do that. Is the complexity of an issue any excuse for total inaction or for indefinite postponement of action? Certainly not. Some time, somewhere, the ball is to be set in motion. Then why not it be to-day? If you keep on saying to ourselves 'there is a Tiger in the Park' we will never make a beginning and by never making a beginning in a vital matter that affects the very existence of millions of our countrymen, can we be true to our own Highest Selves? Physical inconveniences too should be counted with. The sleeping proletariat may come to their senses at any moment and all the fire-works of words at our command may not help us to keep a whole skin about us. The paraphernalia of repression may turn against themselves; the marginal human goodness in the soldier or the policeman is quite liable to assert itself.

All the wars and riots known to history, including that in our neighbourhood of Malabar, have had their origin in economic distress. There may be some other precipitating factors,

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but they are only like scratches on a diabetic patient. Can we think of a soldier killing another human being in a mechanical cold-blooded way but for the fact that the system to which he belongs gives him no other maintenance? He kills to live. The obsolete system is inherently incapacitated from giving him any other inspiring constructive work. So is the case in internal disturbances. Economic distress makes the individuals desperate. They smash those in power and affluence before getting themselves smashed and end their miseries. And once a breach is mademyriads of discontented elements concentrate to the spot to express themselves and the whole thing becomes a conflagration. Down comes the placard 'Malabar Riots' or 'Disturbances in Kashmere' or 'Revolt in Alwar'.

This motion of mine is, however, a tame affair. There is nothing therein affecting the reputation of the Government; a mere suggestionregarding their policy is made. And it is up to them to accept it in all enthusiasm. They may carry out their surveys with life-and-death speed and realise the millennium if they can. I make a humble and heartfelt appeal to my Hon'ble friends and colleagues to support the motion with all the fervour it deserves and show to the country our good sense that we are something, that we to some extent do justify the trust imposed on us.

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—Mr. President, Sir, I have to say at the very outset that I am not a student of any kind of philosophy, either religious or political.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—Then what are you? Only a teacher?

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—One thing I have been able to understand from the Hon'ble Member's speech is the State Industrialisation and mechanisation of labour and then of removing what is known as the capitalist's tyranny over debtors. I shall say a few wordsabout some of these points to the best of my ability. Of course I do not propose to make up anything that is wanting either by raising the voice or by gnashing my teeth. No one who knows anything really good about an industry will ever teach it to another. He would rather start one for himself. Coming to the practical side of industries I have now to say that we have got 2 or 3 types of industrial concerns started in the Cochin State. One is the Potteries which is a Government concern, *i. e.*, the Chalakkudi Potteries. The second is the Tanneries at Chalakkudi where both the people and the Government co-operated and the third is the Tata Oil Mills in Ernakulam. Ineed not say that the Tatas are the Industrial Magnates in India. All these concerns during the past so many years of their existence have not been able to declare one pie by way of dividend. They were all started in response to speeches of

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the kind that we have had a little ago. The only thing is that they are short of bearing any kind of fruit.

Now I may just give a few facts about an industry which looks to me as a probable one in Ernakulam especially in the light of the cheap electricity that we may have here. We have here the Tata Oil Mills which manufactured thousands and thousands of tons of soap. Their monthly production is more than 300 tons. One would naturally expect that they would require some caustic soda for the manufacture of soap and if we have cheap electricity and seawater nothing more is necessary. Simply put the two together and we have the caustic soda. This process looks very simple. But the technical details of this process are either trade secrets or guarded by patents. That is something to be reckoned with. If I may say so what we read in the text books about industries is something like the stuffed specimens that we see in the Museum. If ever there was anything in them that has been practically used up by the hunter and he gives the remaining skin to the museum to be preserved there well. We have got only industrial formulae of that type in the text books.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—Is he saying about the sort of books that we have? What is his point?

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—I am coming to a practical industry, an industry for the manufacture of alkali. It is a thing I have been thinking of starting for some time. The data was never prepared with a view that I should have the fortune or misfortune to face this Council.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—Do you mean that the Government is bent upon it?

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—He is only making a suggestion.

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—If we start that industry we have some advantages also. We need not have a costly plant for drying the caustic soda. You may sell away the solution itself. In all these things we require the co-operation of the other firms. I do not know how far they will be ready for such a co-operation.

Lastly, the place of the Government in such an industrial concern is this. Suppose common salt is required and if ever the Government thinks of supplying the salt free of duty, I suppose in such an industrial concern the Government's duty is done by supplying common salt duty free. Well, there is another factor so far as these industries are concerned, which we have to think of. That is our general standard. I am now coming to some of the raw materials that we ourselves produce. The two such that I see in the bazaar everyday, *i. e.*,

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articles of daily consumption by the masses, are rice and tapioca. I believe that three-fourths of the rice sold in the bazaar will be regarded as unfit for their consumption by members of this House. Probably we will find 25 per cent good for consumption.

Coming to tapioca the same thing. It is used by thousands and still not kept in such a way as may be regarded fit for human consumption.

The next is cocoanut. We all know that cocoanut is very good food. But if we look at the copra that is seen in the Mills the general impression is that it is so ill-handled that it will give the impression it is never intended for human consumption.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar.—On a point of information, may I know to what the Hon'ble Member is leading us? How is it relevant to the question of industrialisation?

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—If you manufacture anything which the people do not appreciate it will never find a sale and your industries are bound to fail so that if you think of State Industrialisation all that we can do is to repeat the history of the Potteries, the Tanneries and the Tata Oil Mills.

Mr. A. Sankara Poduval.—May I know if this is to be a continuous sitting or not? We should like to have a 15 minute's break.

Mr. C. J. Mathew.—The Council met only at 2-30 and it will continue till 5.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എം. ഇബ്രാഹിം.—ഇപ്പോൾ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതന്മാർക്ക് കുറച്ചു ക്ഷീണം തോന്നിട്ടുള്ള സമയമായതുകൊണ്ട് എനിയ്ക്ക് ഇതിനെക്കുറിച്ച് ഒരു വലിയ പ്രസംഗമൊന്നും ചെയ്യണമെന്ന മോഹമില്ല. പക്ഷെ എന്തെങ്കിലും അല്പം പറയാതിരുന്നാൽ എന്റെ അവതരണപ്രസംഗത്തെ തെറ്റിദ്ധരിച്ചെയ്യുമോ എന്നുള്ള വിചാരംകൊണ്ട് കുറച്ചു പറയാം.

ഞാൻ പ്രസംഗിയ്ക്കുന്നതിനുമുമ്പായി സ്കൂൾകുട്ടികളെ ക്ലാസിൽ പഠിപ്പിയ്ക്കുന്ന രീതിയിൽ അല്പ പ്രസംഗിച്ചുവല്ലോ. ഒരു വലിയ രാജ്യതന്ത്രകാര്യത്തെസംബന്ധിച്ച് പൊതുജനങ്ങളോട് ആത്മാർത്ഥമായുള്ള സ്നേഹംകൊണ്ടും സംഗതികൾ നല്ലവണ്ണം ആലോചിച്ച് ഒരു വിശാലമായ രീതിയെ നടപ്പിലാക്കുന്നതിനെ വേണ്ടിയുമാണ് ഞാൻ സംസാരിച്ചതു്. അതുകൊണ്ട് സ്കൂൾ കുട്ടികളോടു് ക്ലാസിൽ പ്രസംഗിയ്ക്കുന്ന മാതിരിയിലല്ല ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ സംസാരിച്ചതെന്ന് ആദ്യമേ പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളട്ടെ.

എന്റെ പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ പ്രധാനമായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള സംഗതി—സ്വതോക്ഷമായ കൃഷി—കൈത്തൊഴിൽ—യന്ത്രകരണപ്രസ്ഥാനം—എല്ലാവിധത്തിലും പരിചിതങ്ങളായുള്ള യന്ത്രോപകരണങ്ങൾ ഉപയോഗിച്ചുള്ള കൈത്തൊഴിൽ പ്രസ്ഥാനം—ഇവനാ

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ട്ടിൽനടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയാൽ മാത്രമേ തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയെ പരിഹരിയ്ക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കയുള്ളുവെന്നു ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ കൊണ്ടു വരുവാൻവേണ്ടിയാണു ഞാൻ ഈ മോഷൻ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ആ സംഗതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു് മറുപടിയിൽ ഒന്നുംതന്നെ കേൾക്കുവാൻ ഭാഗ്യമുണ്ടാകാത്തതിൽ ഞാൻ വിഷമിയ്ക്കുന്നു. ഇവിടെ ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ള ഭാഗങ്ങളിൽനിന്നുതന്നെ എത്രയോ ആയിരം പോട്ടറീസ്സും, ടാനറീസും ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ഭരണരീതിയും, നടപടികളും ശരിയാക്കിയാൽ ഈ നാട്ടിൽ ധാരാളം നടപ്പിലാക്കുവാൻ സാധിയ്ക്കുമെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കാവുന്നതാണു്. സ്റ്റോറുകയായി അനവധി കൈത്തൊഴിലുകളും, കൃഷിയും വളർത്തിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടാണു് പരിഷ്കൃതങ്ങളായ പല രാജ്യങ്ങളിലും തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. റഷ്യായും മറ്റും ആനിലയിലാണു് ഉന്നതിയിൽ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഞാനിവിടെ റഷ്യാ എന്നും, സോഷ്യലിസം എന്നും പറയുമ്പോൾ അവാക്കുകൾ കേട്ടിട്ടു് നിങ്ങളാരും ഭ്രമിച്ചുപോകരുതു്. ഇവിടെ സാറിനെ കൊല്ലേണ്ടതില്ല. ഇന്നത്തെ ഭരണവ്യക്തികളെ ഹനിക്കുന്നതിനു് അധമ്മങ്ങളായ യാതൊരു പോരാട്ടത്തിനും ഞാൻ നിങ്ങളെ ക്ഷണിയ്ക്കുന്നില്ല. അവിടെയുള്ള സൃഷ്ടിപരമായ കായ്പരിപാടി ഇവിടേയും നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ മാത്രമാണു് ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടിനോടപേക്ഷിയ്ക്കുന്നതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതിലടങ്ങിയിരിയ്ക്കുന്ന ബ്രാഡ് പാളിസിയെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് അക്സപ്റ്റു ചെയ്യണമെന്നുള്ള അപേക്ഷയോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ വിരമിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Motion put and negatived.

Motions Nos. 15 A and 16.

As the movers were absent the following motions were considered withdrawn.

15 A. Mr. K. T. Mathew.—*To reduce the allotment of Rs. 17,347 for Industries Department by Re. 1.*

16. Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan. *To reduce the allotment of Rs. 1,38,212 for Scientific, etc., Departments by Re. 1.*

Demand put and carried.

2. 22—Industries—Cranganur—Rs. 2,610.

Mr. K. Narasimha Pai.—Sir, I rise to move that a sum of Rs. 2,610 under 22—Industries—Cranganur may be granted by this House.

Demand put and carried.

3. 1—Land Revenue—Rs. 2,66,760.

Mr. U. Kandar Menon.—Sir, I rise to move for an allotment of Rs. 2,66,760 under 1—Land Revenue. The several items of expenditure provided in the budget are all more or less based on the figures of the previous years and do not call for any special remarks from me at this stage. I request the House may be pleased to vote the grant.

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